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December, 1934

VOLUME FIFTEEN NUMBER THREE

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JUSTICE • BROTHERHOOD • PEACE

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

THE aim of WORLD UNITY is to promote the *"application of the principle of federalism"* underlying the American government *"to the relationships now existing between the peoples and nations of the world."*

This eventual world order is upheld as the only firm basis for international peace, and the sole instrumentality through which mankind can solve its economic and other vital social problems.

In its pursuit of the goal of world order, the magazine will endeavor to constitute a medium for discussion of fundamental aspects of the current movement of thought from the old era to the new, and to provide a meeting place for those who stand above the competitions of race, class and creed.

World Unity
119 Waverly Place

Horace Holley, Editor
New York

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RELIGION AND WORLD ORDER

by

HORACE HOLLEY

V. SOUL AND SOCIETY

CONSIDERATION has already been given to certain principles which appear to be fundamental in any effort to understand the vital rôle of religion in the development of world order. These principles may be summarized as follows:

1. That religion in its completeness sustains the whole of life and is not merely a part or adjunct—a creed fortuitously inherited, a ceremony made an end in itself.

2. That religion as the sustenance of human life has a definite historical source and origin in the Prophet.

3. That religion, in its expression of the life and teaching of the Prophet, has not only a beginning but an ending in historical time. Every faith has eventuated in a civilization, and every civilization has struggled to maturity and perished when the sustaining spirit was withdrawn.

4. That modern society has passed under the control of non-moral institutions committing humanity to fatal strife and discord, marking the end of a cycle.

The impermanence of the several civilizations now existing becomes clear when we give attention to the non-social character of the religions from which they separately sprang.

In the saying, "Give unto Caesar" we are compelled to note that the Founder of Christianity limited His spiritual teaching to persons, to individuals, and refrained from extending that teaching to establish a principle for society. The character and scope of the Christian teaching, at its source, clearly contemplated an era during which individuals were to cultivate a spiritual life, purifying their

inner motives and assuming responsibility for their deeds, in contrast to and complete disregard of their social institutions. They were to seek a Kingdom in the realm of the awakened and conscious soul, but the world was Caesar's and the successors of Caesar.

Moreover, that doctrine, at its source, does not fail to include a social principle alone: it is in essence a doctrine of the "heart" and makes no provision for the life of the mind. It justifies no particular social form, creates a basis for no particular type of social institution, and in nowise explains those aspects of life and the universe which constitute the ends of psychology and philosophy. It renewed man's inner life, it revealed more fully than ever before the nature of God and the spiritual capacity of human beings; it released a quality of personal relationships on the high plane required to maintain the new vision of the sanctity of life; but Christianity, at its source and in its reality, supports no political principle, sustains no economic theory, outlines no cosmogony, throws no light upon man's relation to the physical universe, and sanctions no conception of the function of mind.

These organic limitations, imposed not by absence of power at the Source but by lack of capacity in the environment and age, mark a cycle whose term was set at its beginning. It signalizes one necessary stage in the evolution of religion, or rather in the upward march of conscious human life, but finality is entirely absent, because the requisite foundation in revealed truth for the wholeness of life was not spiritually established.

The history of the past era is nothing else than a record of the dual struggle which has gone on in the inner life of the soul and likewise in the outer life of society: the struggle, on the one hand, to realize in terms of individual lives the supernatural standard of human existence which had been raised; and on the other hand the struggle throughout society to provide by its own thinking and feeling those elements—those necessary and essential elements—which had not been revealed.

Thus, at one time the religion was made the sanction of the institution of kings; at another time, the same religion has been made the sanction of democracy. Here it has given rise to a social-

istic principle; there it has with equal sincerity but equal historical inaccuracy been made to serve the ends of individualism. Throughout the entire era there has been no lasting balance or repose in the civilization, because justice and not love is the basis of the community. Impressive philosophies have arisen derived from the Greeks only to be displaced by no less impressive philosophies derived from the Romans, the ancient Hindus or from a newly arisen natural science. Throughout the Christian era man was separated spiritually from his social environment, and driven by awareness of this gulf he endeavored to substitute for the organic community the artificial society of a church. Throughout that era man was also separated from his human nature and from his power of mind, and human intelligence, finding the bridge between faith and reason permitted by the church to be altogether too narrow, developed into a non-moral function unable to discern the difference between truth and error, between right and wrong. The culmination comes when we punish the murderer and the thief, but glorify the crimes of murder and theft when committed by any large and powerful social institution.

Unlike a scientific formula, religious truth does not continue indefinitely and independent of the way it is applied. While a chemical action can be employed for good or evil ends with equal efficiency, a spiritual truth, to possess validity, must include the vital element represented by the believer's quality of response. When the quality of response has fallen below the level of the aim implied in the truth, the truth becomes void of influence. The living impulse sent forth from its Source has been expended; what remains is a form of words, a lifeless symbol, a ceremony possessing psychic but not spiritual effect.

Hence it is necessary to realize that religion during the term of its spiritual life—its allotted historic cycle—is definitely characterized by its power of motivating and sustaining a civilization. When the civilization lapses from the religious level, and follows materialistic aims, there is a fatal separation of spirit and form. This separation is wholly equivalent to that separation of soul and body which in the case of a human being we term death. And pre-

cisely as "death" is an experience of that human being in its personality, but does not in any way affect the elements and substances of which the body was composed, so after the death of a religion the component parts of the civilization retain each its own kind of "life" and may in fact manifest even increased activity as the restraining influence of the guiding whole is removed.

But once the separation has taken place, the civilization cannot, by the action of any of its parts, renew that deep and profound social instinct of unity which religion alone supplies.

Civilization is the outworking of spiritual faith. That faith inspires fresh courage, removes the barriers of personality and groups, stimulates the mind to solve necessary problems from the point of view of the society as a whole, establishes a foundation of human reality raised above the bestial struggle for existence, and enables mankind to take one more forward step in its progress upon the eternal path.

There is, however, no historical permanence for any civilization equivalent to the universality of revelation upon the plane of soul. Until mankind is united within one true faith and within one order of justice and knowledge, the need of the renewal and enlargement of spiritual truth is manifest to all.

SOCIOLOGY AND WORLD UNITY

by

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SINCE the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century and the extreme pitch to which it has attained since the world war its existence and potency in determining the trend of future world events is recognized by all. With regard to any schemes for world peace pessimists tell us that war always has existed hence always will exist, that the fighting and warring impulse is so deeply ingrained as to be as ineradicable as an instinct. Such persons point to the animal world and that of primitive man and contend that both groups have lived largely by preying upon others; that war of each against all was *the* law of life. The struggle for existence is a universal phenomenon, they say, and you cannot change human nature. Others, more optimistic, assure us that as man has evolved in the scale of social evolution, has developed more intellect and has used it increasingly more and the instincts less, wars have played a smaller part in the social life of man, and that it is expected that they will continue to diminish.

Before forming any more beliefs as to the inability of man to do anything with regard to his destiny since human nature *cannot* be changed, or creating elaborate schemes for universal peace in the world tomorrow on the assumption that human nature *can* be changed and has been changing in the development and use of more intellect with the lessened use of the instincts it might be well to consider the validity of these claims in the light of such cultural history as is available to us.

First, as to the point that war of each against all was *the* law of life among animals and primitive man. We have the valuable work of Prince Kropotkin entitled "Mutual Aid". The impetus for this work came from Professor Kessler, sociologist at St. Peters-

burg University who in 1880 gave a lecture on "The Law of Mutual Aid" which he thought "for the progressive evolution of the species is more important than the law of mutual contest". Kropotkin, having heard this lecture, says: "This suggestion . . . which was in reality nothing but a further development of the ideas expressed by Darwin himself in 'The Descent of Man' seemed so correct to me and of so great an importance that since I became acquainted with it (in 1883) I began to collect materials for further developing the idea, which Kessler had only cursorily sketched in his lecture but had not lived to develop."

Although Kropotkin in his studies on the plains of Russia was everywhere struck with the fierce struggle for existence of animal life against an inclement nature he was equally struck with the phenomenon of mutual aid and support *"among animals belonging to the same species."* He cites example after example of this co-operation and mutual assistance which prevailed among animals within the same group.

He says: "It is not love to my neighbor—whom I often do not know at all—which induces me to seize a pail of water and to rush toward his home when I see it in fire; it is a far wider, even though more vague feeling or instinct of human solidarity and sociability which moves me. So it is with animals. It is not love and not even sympathy (understood in its proper sense) which induces a herd of ruminants or of horses to form a ring in order to resist a pack of wolves; not love which induces wolves to form a pack for hunting; not love which induces kittens or lambs to play, or a dozen of species of young birds to spend their days together in the autumn; and it is neither love nor primal sympathy which induces many thousand fallow deer scattered over a territory as large as France to form into a score of separate herds, all marching towards a given spot, in order there to cross a river. It is a feeling infinitely wider than love or personal sympathy—an instinct that has slowly developed among animals and men in the course of an extremely long evolution and which taught animals and men alike the force they can borrow from the practice of mutual aid and support, and the joys they find in social life."

Now Kropotkin, realizing that a number of evolutionists, among them notably Herbert Spencer, while not refusing to admit the importance of mutual aid among animals did refuse to admit it for man, felt himself bound to continue his studies and to portray the importance of this same factor in the evolution of man. This he did in his chapters, Mutual aid among savages, among barbarians, in the mediaeval city and among modern men. It must be repeated that although he was not blind to the many arguments concerning the "harsh pitiless struggle for life" he felt constrained to set over against these views evidence which points to the overwhelming importance which sociable habits play in nature and in the progressive evolution of *both* the animal species and human beings. And he says again, "it is not love and not even sympathy upon which society is based in mankind. It is the conscience—be it only at the stage of instinct—of human solidarity".

It is true that we may question whether instinct is the correct terminology for this phenomenon but we may note in passing that this is what Professor Giddings as the basic element of human society has designated "consciousness of kind" and on the animal plane, probably gregariousness or organic sympathy. Co-operation has indeed been thought by some students to be the essential and distinctive fact of society. Giddings has, as a part of his system, postulated that when the objective and subjective conditions are such that "consciousness of kind" has arisen, co-operation and concerted volition must follow as a matter of course.

It does not seem from any evidence yet available that a savage is similar to cruel, bloodthirsty, ravenous animals nor that war is a definite part of the existence of primitive peoples. In the work of Hobhouse, Wheeler and Ginsberg entitled "The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples" we find the results of a study of two-hundred and ninety-eight simpler peoples summarized; and we find according to this study that in nine cases no war has been found, and since these instances were found among the lower hunters and lower agricultural peoples, these students conclude that "organized war rather develops with the advance of industry and of social organization in general."

And what shall we say to the pessimists who still insist that "you cannot change human nature"?

While the evolutionary theory was most dominant in the latter part of the nineteenth century it was often assumed that man's original nature had evolved and would continue to do so along with the evolutionary processes. This, of course cannot be dogmatically denied given sufficient span of time; and we must note that the historic life of man has been of a mere second's duration in comparison with the eons of time in which the cosmos has come to its present state. A few thousand years may be entirely too short a time in which to observe changes, if there be any; also our instruments of measurement may not be refined or delicate enough to detect such possible changes. Yet we cannot ignore the tendency for anthropologists to be increasingly of the opinion, judging from the early remains that we have and studies of primitive peoples, that the psychological equipment of man has not changed perceptibly since the last ice age, 25,000 years or more ago. Certainly we have nothing to prove that there has been significant evolution of this kind.

Professor Conklin, eminent biologist of Princeton, says it is possible that evolution of human beings may have come to an end.

It is becoming more and more evident to many scholars that the real change which has come about is in the field of culture, material and immaterial, by the selective accumulation of material inventions and the knowledge of their usages, together with inventions in social modes of activity and group habits. This so-called culture, material and immaterial, is what is sometimes termed the social heritage and may be handed down from generation to generation, diffused in whole or in part and augmented and modified by contacts. Contrary to the old La Marckian hypothesis it is not now believed that the biological inheritance does so increase. Each individual begins at the same point biologically as did his forebears. The distinctions between these two factors, the biological inheritance and the cultural inheritance need to be carefully kept in mind. It is in the sphere of the interaction of these two factors that confusion so often arises.

Now if these scholars be true in general for the time in the universe occupied by historic man what is left for us to say to those optimistic thinkers mentioned who claim that the increase in man's intellect and his increasing use of it as a directing agency of the instincts will deduce devastating group struggle commonly denominated as war?

In the first place it must be pointed out once again that we have no evidence that the intellectual powers have increased in historic times or are increasing and furthermore, in the carrying on of wars it is not certain that there is a decrease in the use of the "instincts" (used in the popular meaning of the word). Are whole nations incited and aroused to fight by any means different from those which makers of war have always used?

It may be conceded to these optimists that the few who have largely been instrumental in first instigating and secondly popularizing and carrying on vast modern wars, or those who have been directly responsible for the production of those more deadly and complicated instruments and methods of warfare, have been persons of intelligence and superior knowledge. One may add, too, that these more fortunate persons may quite likely have been moved to war by other motives than the so called "gregarious war instinct." As Kropotkin says: "It was not the masses of the European nations who prepared the present war calamity and worked out its barbarous methods; it was their rulers, their intellectual leaders. The masses of the people have nowhere had a voice in the preparation of the present slaughter, and still less so in the working out of the present methods of warfare . . . ."

Furthermore, we may well ask whether wars have actually decreased.

We have a certain amount of evidence which points to the conclusion that little noticeable quantitative or qualitative decrease of war is shown as we review the stages of culture from the lowest hunters to those of the highest agricultural peoples. Neither do we find definite proofs of this peaceful outcome of the supposedly increased use of the directive force of the intellect.

F. A. Woods in his work "Is War Diminishing?" made a study

of the number of years in each century spent by European peoples during the last nine centuries. Bodart has given data in his "Losses of Life in Modern Wars." These two studies far from being conclusive at all show however that we have no significant data except in the small countries of Europe of diminishing warfare. Focusing attention on England, France and Russia, Woods says the evidence "would never suggest that militarism is ceasing" and that the data do "no more than throw a moderate amount of probability in favor of declining war years".

Professor Pitirim Sorokin of the University of Minnesota, in commenting on these studies in his recent work, "Contemporary Sociological Theories" says: "If we take the per cent of losses for the belligerent armies in the wars of the seventeenth, the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, we cannot see any tendency toward a decrease. Meanwhile, the size of the armies has been increasing not only in an absolute number but probably even in proportion to the population. During the last war we saw that almost the entire population of nations was turned into an army. If, therefore, the per cent of the losses of the contemporary armies is no less than that of the armies of the past, this strongly suggests, that contrary to many authors, among them Steinmetz, that there is no definite decrease in the number of war victims. Numerous and detailed tables given by Bodart of the losses in all the principal battles of the above three centuries computed as a per cent of the total strength of the fighting armies do not show even the slightest tendency toward a decrease of these losses. These data seem sufficient to show that the alleged diminution of war is hard to prove" definitely.

But it must be noted that in giving all the benefit possible to these studies that nine centuries is comparatively speaking, a short time in the history of man. Also Woods says that the last two centuries do show a decline. This is important and peculiarly significant because it is just in these years that the diffusion of culture and the intimate communication between more peoples over a wider area than has ever before existed began and has gone on with ever accelerating rapidity the end of which is not yet. Within these centuries racial contacts and consequently cultural accumulation

has been greater than during any other given length of time. Within this period the machine age began its penetration from country to country and still has a large part of the earth to reach. As remarkable as have been the changes we are still only emerging from the middle ages and are still largely in the agricultural and hand-industry social pattern, particularly in the realm of morals and ethics. The new era, comparatively speaking, has only just begun. Furthermore, only Europe was studied, the area where the greatest diversity of national groups exists. Woods also postulates a "gregarious war instinct" the existence of which is very doubtful in the light of modern psychology. There were many variables and conditions in these studies which were not considered at all.

Now granting for the moment that the intellectual powers have increased and granting for argument's sake that Woods' and Bodart's studies are significant we do not get much assistance from the beliefs of the optimists that wars will cease from the development of a more intellectual species. But since the best evidence we have of man since the last ice age is that his psychological equipment has not appreciably changed we cannot accept this thesis. So we are back in a way with the pessimists who say "You cannot change human nature".

What shall we do then? Must we sit down complacently and allow social evolution to continue to evolve in its wasteful, slow course after the manner which the late Professor Lester F. Ward of Brown University called "genetic evolution," or shall we bestir ourselves, accept the challenge and attempt to discover the many variables in the causes of war and to take control of our destiny by what he pleased to call "collective telesis"?

When we begin to consider the possibility of man's conscious control of himself and the direction of the vast accumulation of social usages he has created we are face to face once more with the effects of the religion of nationalism.

Have we any clue in the life histories of human groups that this barrier can in any way be overcome to the extent that the destruction and devastation of war can be greatly reduced?

Perhaps we have.

Although the beginnings of human society lie mostly shrouded in the distant past the societies of which we have records, and such studies as we have of peoples still left in the by-ways and side lanes on the road of cultural evolution, show that the original bond of these groups was a blood-bond, either real or imaginary. In the course of time by processes only imperfectly known to us, the blood-bond was enlarged to include others—outsiders—thought not to be related. These others were moulded by the folkways and mores of the group until their differences were largely forgotten, as Professor Giddings of Columbia, would say, by a process which produced more and more "likemindedness" and "consciousness of kind". These outsiders were "taken into the family" so to speak and were supposed to be adopted, in fact actually were. In many cases that are known, these outsiders went through a ceremony of adoption into the family, the tribe or the state. They became a part of the mother-country or the fatherland. They became its children. In our country even to-day we insist on a definite ritual as it were, in order that outsiders may be Americanized—admitted to the family—to a place on the hearth—pro Patria, pro Deo. Our very word patriotism shows the antiquity of this custom.

And no matter how small the group nor how large, nor how old nor how recent we find ethnocentrism prevailing—the idea that one's own group is the center of everything, superior, more to be desired. "All others," as the late William Graham Sumner of Yale says in his monumental work "Folkways," are scaled and rated with reference to it. Folkways correspond to it to cover both the inner and the outer relation. Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders. Each group thinks its own folkways the only right ones, and if it observes that other groups have other folkways these excite its scorn. Opprobrious epithets are derived from these differences. 'Pig-eater', 'cow-eater', 'uncircumcised', 'jabberers', are epithets of contempt and abonination . . .' ethnocentrism leads a people to exaggerate and intensify everything in their own folkways which is peculiar and which differentiates them from others."

Sumner, quoting examples from various students adds: "When Caribs were asked whence they came, they answered 'We alone are people' . . . . The Lapps call themselves 'Men' or 'human beings'. The Greenland Esquimaux think that Europeans have been sent to learn virtue and good manners from Greenlanders. Their highest form of praise for an European is that he is, or soon will be, as good as a Greenlander. The Tunguses call themselves, 'Men'. As a rule it is found that nature peoples call themselves, 'Men'. Others are something else—perhaps not defined but not real men . . . . The Jews divided all mankind into themselves and Gentiles. They were the chosen people. The Greeks and Romans called outsiders 'barbarians' . . . . The Arabs regarded themselves as the noblest nation and all others as more or less barbarians. In 1896, the Chinese minister of Education and his counsellors edited a manual in which this statement occurs: "How grand and glorious is the Empire of China, the Middle Kingdom! She is the largest and richest in the world. The grandest men in the world have all come from the middle empire . . . . In Russian books and newspapers the civilizing mission of Russia is talked about, just as, in the books and journals of France, Germany and the United States, the civilized mission of those countries is assumed and referred to as well understood."

Coming nearer home we have heard in England with regard to colonization of "the white man's burden". In 1905 William II of Germany said: "God would never have taken such great pains with our German Fatherland and its people if he had not been preparing us for something still greater. We are the salt of the earth". (It would seem that an "Americana" is needed in other countries as well as in our own!) Not long ago the Committee on Citizenship formed by the American Bar Association as a part of its credo states: "I believe that we Americans have the best government that has ever been created—the freest and the most just for all, ... that as an American citizen the Constitution of the United States ought to be as actual a part of my life as the Sermon on the Mount."

In view of this ethnocentricism, with its effects of exaggerated

patriotism and chauvinism everywhere prevalent in human groups and the vastly improved technique of propaganda to spread them, can we hope to cope successfully with the religion of nationalism and all the dire results in human bloodshed that it entails?

Once more let us look backward and we shall see that although a deep loyalty and emotionalism still exists in all primary groups yet with contact through increased human wants, through inventions of transportation and communication the group has steadily enlarged and the fatherland or mother-country is held intact by an extended patriotism. And by how numerous and diverse a lot of children! Diverse in blood, in language and even in religion. Beside the Lares and Penates reside other gods.

Through more and more rapid and multifold modes of distribution an ever increasing number of culture traits have jumped the bounds of national borders. Art knows no country. The leading world religions are no longer confined to race. Science and technological processes are forgetful of the limits of nationality. Commerce and trade and credit are pushing farther and farther into the remote corners of the earth. And yet at the same time we see that the voice of nationalism was never more shrill or strident than now in our own time.

How can the rational person possibly reconcile these conflicting data?

Is it not possible that we view with too short a range? We might get wisdom from the old hymn which says; "A thousand years are but a day in thy sight, O Lord!" or from the question of Emerson "Why so hot, my little man?" The statitician has made us acquainted with fluctuations over a long time trend. If history, and in particular, cultural history, means anything, can we not think, without being accused of indulging in flights from reality or wishful thinking, that the ethnocentric group is growing larger and that it is possible to increase its boundaries?

Racial amalgamation is going on steadily. Whether we like it or not miscegenation is most likely sooner or later to come about. Industrialism is regarding more and more the whole world as its province and we have many evidences which indicate that the

machine age has come to stay even though it may be the means of exterminating many peoples in its progress. It must finally encompass the globe.

Of the forces, in addition to those previously mentioned, that may hasten world unity of some sort and thereby lessen many war-making factors, Professor A. A. Tenney of Columbia sets forth in unpublished lectures the view that there is no reason why we cannot accelerate the processes which produce "consciousness of kind". Tenney and others are coming more and more to believe that like-mindedness is increasing. People change to new ways when they think these ways are important.

In hastening this process to world unity which is far more than mere political control of a wider area he thinks that the focusing of the attention of the peoples of the world on objects and aims in common should be deliberately and intelligently brought about. He suggests the further extension of international bodies. These should be sufficiently popularized to develop likemindedness in other lines than race, language or religion such as in common problems which have more than local significance. He mentions a world consular service; world investigation into the natural resources of the earth; central bureau of advice on human betterment projects; a permanent world commission on international migration and a world publicity service. Some of the undirected processes already bringing about understanding in a small way, but yet more than was ever possible in any age before, comes from the world travel of the common people, immigration, mails, sports, games, radio, mechanical musical instruments and the universal spread and popularity of moving pictures.

Others point out since the Orient, although penetrated already by machine culture, will have, for some time to come, quite different views and aims in local matters from those of the machine-industrial Occident that perhaps two or three unions should and will be the next step in the course of future world unity.

Such focusing of attention as Tenney suggests on certain universal problems would not prevent social experimentation in smaller areas. It would not unduly endanger that local differentiation so

dear to the artists which they feel is so necessary for color and beauty in the creation of the most artistic contributions to mankind.

Modern history would seem increasingly to show that time is bearing out Giddings views on likemindedness as a prime factor in determining the size and actual social integration of groups. We see that this integration has come slowly in the process of time; and that it has been greatly accelerated in recent years, also, we must agree with the cultural ethnologists, by the diffusion of various parts of the "superorganic" giving rise in turn "to like response to like stimuli". (But perhaps we would better say similar response to similar stimuli).

It will be recalled in this connection that Professor Lester F. Ward stressed all through his system the paramount need and possibility of accelerating social progress by universalizing the fundamental principles of all knowledge, and particularly those general scientific principles which directly impinge upon group life. As a result of the universalizing of this knowledge mankind would be enabled, he thought, in a more practical and economical manner to direct and to hasten its own progress, thereby alleviating a large part of social waste and unnecessary human misery.

This would certainly mean with regard to our subject that knowledge of the psychology of suggestion, of rationalization and of propaganda should be made available to the common man. If this one aspect of group life were understood by the masses, a great prop would be taken away from the supposedly more intelligent few who consciously or unconsciously have always had it in their power to throw whole nations into enthusiastic self-exterminating warfare,—"Pro Patria, Pro Deo" but which on close scrutiny strangely (?) enough will be seen all too often to redound only to the benefit of a few. The good reasons given for war seldom prove to be the real reasons.

What produces more alarm, for instance, amongst the would-be guardians of society than to contemplate that men and women may actually come to know the exact elements which go to make up religious sanctions and frenzies; political loyalties; and pro-

grams and slogans for increasing the birth-rate? I am not speaking particularly of America but of all countries in general. The technique of propaganda aimed to arouse intense emotions of any sort, which otherwise would slumber,—scientific knowledge about the real things in life—religion, sex and war—about these cluster the mass of our taboos. This is where the censor gets his inning.

This incitation and arousal of all the emotional reserves is brought about wholly by social means. To call the result of this as Woods and others have the gregarious war instinct implying that it is a recurring biological urge is to assert something which has no scientific basis whatsoever.

No doubt it will take a very long time before mankind who has always been aroused to war by a small interested group through skillful powers of suggestion aimed to incite the old emotions and beliefs of group honor—ethnocentricism—and which spreads from group to group like wild fire with ever-increasing momentum, can obtain knowledge of the psychological principles of human behavior and reasonable intelligent control of itself. No one who has intimately known the every day working people of America or of Europe or of Asia can imagine that they have any ingrained love or biological urge for war unless artificially stimulated through ancient group shibboleths. Of course man like any animal will fight if he thinks that all he holds dear or vital is in jeopardy.

Is it not possible to utilize these powerful group loyalties and sympathies, to reattach them, to recondition them? Can we not in some way enlarge these groups to include loyalties and interests and emotional attachments that mutual aid, so ably described by Kropotkin, may be operative in the whole species of man once he perceives that he is of the same species as other men? Modern psychology gives us much encouragement in its studies of habit formation.

Although the rational person cannot expect to see the cessation of wars in his time it is thought that the possibility of world unity in the future is not wholly Utopian.

It may be that the view of the pessimist that you cannot change human nature is true. But it is quite possible that human nature is

perfectly adequate as it is. Mankind would seem to have already enough mental capacity and emotional reserves to grapple with this most challenging situation with legitimate hope of a nearer and more rapid approach to this presumably desirable goal. It is a matter of directing and utilizing what we have already of human nature and of cultural accumulation instead of allowing them to drift unguided, a prey to uncontrolled forces. The "instincts"—the much despised instincts—(whatever they may be) the impulses, the emotions hitherto much despaired of may be the most powerful factors in this process as has been pointed out before by new direction and wider attachments.

But, it may be asked, if we have no indisputable evidence that wars or losses from war have diminished while at the same time it is seen that groups have grown larger, what reason have we to think that further enlargement will produce less nationalism and a diminution of whole-sale destruction? It is to be stressed that the mere physical enlargement of national boundaries in itself is not necessarily conducive to peace. In fact, it may produce up to a certain point, forces for making wars more frequent and devastating. It is the very recent interdiffusion of cultures and the production of likemindedness, a process which gives every evidence of being on the upward curve until the whole world has become encompassed which is to be noted. And it can only be pointed out once again that those fluctuations to the contrary may only be parts of a long time trend in the opposite direction or even the beginning of a new cycle. Furthermore man has only very recently entered into a new epoch. It would certainly seem in spite of whirlpools, eddies, cross-currents and back-washes that certain straws and flecks on the stream of human history indicate that the current is toward world unity of some sort.

And we shall have to concede this much to the optimists of a certain school that an increased use of such intellect as we have is absolutely necessary. But not only by the few. The principles of the knowledge which we already possess must be diffused through an ever wider and wider group and perpendicularly, it is to be emphasized, as well as horizontally. It is to be supposed that the ani-

mal species man will strive for self-preservation and welfare as always once he believes he *is* getting self-preservation. The common peoples of the world in modern times have never found self-preservation in war.

There will have to be a "reconditioning" of our emotions and loyalities to groups and ideals beyond the grounds of nationalism to a world patriotism; world ethnocentrism, if you please; a creation of new world mores concomitantly with the interdiffusion of world cultures, an expansion of those conditions which produce "consciousness of kind" and hence mutual aid. But "consciousness of kind" will not be enough if it be not augmented by the universalized knowledge of the principles of man's intellectual and emotional entity, if man does not take up the task of conscious self-direction, in a word—social telesis.

WORLD ADVANCE

A Monthly International Review

by

OSCAR NEWFANG

Author of "The Road to World Peace," "The United States of the World," etc.

MAKING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNIVERSAL AND EFFECTIVE

THE entry of Russia into the League of Nations has been by far the greatest advance toward universality made by that organization since its foundation. There remain in the world at present only seven nations which are not fully identified with the League,—The United States, Brazil, Costa Rica, Hedjaz, Egypt, Japan and Germany. Of these the last two are still officially members; since the withdrawal notice of Japan will not take effect until March 28, 1935, and that of Germany, until October 21, 1935. Two of the remaining five nations, Brazil and Costa Rica, are former members of the League; and although they have now withdrawn, it will be remembered that other nations (Argentina, for instance) have withdrawn and have later returned to the League fold. There would be no obstruction or necessity of voting on the part of the League, should Brazil and Costa Rica at any time decide to resume their memberships. Hedjaz is one of the nations to which the original invitation to membership was extended, and her acceptance of the invitation would automatically make her a League member without a further vote. Egypt has not yet been invited to membership in the League because of the attitude of Great Britain in questioning whether she is a fully self-governing country able to fulfill her international obligations, as required by the Covenant. While the United States received an original invitation to membership with a proferred permanent seat in the Council, this country has not yet seen fit to accept.

Even on the assumption that Japan and Germany will not rescind their notices of withdrawal and that neither Brazil nor Costa Rica will return to the League, the territory embraced within the League's membership comprises about seven eighths of the earth's surface, the total area of the seven non-member nations being 7,271,000 square miles, as compared with the total land area of the world amounting to 57,510,000 square miles. In population the outside nations number 336,225,000, as compared with an estimated world population at present of about two billions, which would indicate that the League membership comprises about five sixths of the earth's inhabitants.

The Prospect of Restored Memberships

There seems to be a good prospect that three, and possibly four, of the seven nations previously mentioned will reestablish their connection with the League before the next Assembly meeting in September, 1935. When the Foreign Minister of Germany, Baron von Neurath, was recently asked what effect the entry of Russia into the League of Nations would have upon Germany's relations with that organization, he is quoted as having replied that, in view of Russia's action, the only course for Germany to pursue would be to reenter the League as soon as it could be decently done. That Germany is preparing for such action is further indicated by the fact that one of Chancellor Hitler's confidential men, Col. Haselmayer, recently paid a visit to the Union of League of Nations Societies in Geneva as one of Germany's members of its Executive Committee; and that a friendly editorial regarding the League in the Berliner Tageblatt by Paul Scheffer was allowed to appear unrebuked by the Nazi authorities. In this editorial Mr. Scheffer argues that Germany need not wait until her demand for arms equality is met before returning to Geneva, and that she could not afford to stay away from the world organization because she would risk being left entirely out in the cold.

Of the two former Latin-American members, Costa Rica and Brazil, the former has for several years been on the point of returning to the League; and Brazil is being strongly urged by the other

Latin-American nations to reenter the League within the next year, so that she can succeed to the place on the League's Council now occupied by Mexico, and so may maintain the influence of Latin America in the world organization. Whether Brazil will be persuaded to act upon these suggestions is not yet clear; but, as she had no very serious grievance against the League, her return before the next Assembly meeting would not be a surprise to Geneva officials.

The isolation of Japan in Asia, with China and Russia both in the League fold, not to mention India, Siam and Australia, is complete. While this situation doubtless is causing very serious thought to Japanese statesmen, it must of course be clear that the return of Japan to the League of Nations is beset with greater difficulties than that of any other of the former members. The League can hardly reverse its decision, that Japan was an unlawful aggressor in the seizure of Manchuria and the establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo under her protectorate. Japan, on the other hand, can hardly withdraw from Manchukuo and leave that feeble government in all probability to be reabsorbed by China. The deadlock could, of course, be solved, should China recognize the independence of Manchukuo, but this, also does not appear to be within the range of immediate probability. However, if Japan feels her isolation keenly enough, she may try to find some *modus vivendi* with China which will satisfy both countries on the Manchurian question and permit the return of Japan to the League of Nations. Possibly such a basis can be found in a shadowy Chinese protectorate over the three Eastern Provinces, while Japan is guaranteed freedom of trade, investment and immigration in the territory.

The Association of the United States with the League's Peace Efforts

There is no doubt that the relations of the United States to the League of Nations have for some years past been growing increasingly friendly and close. While our State Department at first completely ignored the existence of the League and did not even deign to notice or acknowledge communications from its Secretariat,

Washington began several years ago to take an active part in all of the League's humanitarian work, its health work and its economic efforts. Although we have until very recently held strictly aloof from any participation in the political activities of the League, the representative of President Roosevelt, Norman Davis, has within the past year assured the League officials that, should the United States agree with the League's designation of an aggressor, we would not be disposed to place any obstacles in the way of the measures taken by the League in the shape of sanctions in order to force the aggressor to cease disturbing the world's peace, although we could not agree to lend any positive assistance in the proceedings. This certainly is by far the greatest advance toward world co-operation made by the United States since the founding of the League. It obviates the principal objection which Great Britain has always raised to the use of her navy in enforcing a blockade of a war-making nation. Britain practically repudiated the obligations of applying sanctions, as contained in the Covenant, on the ground that, when she accepted these obligations, it was with the understanding that the United States, also, would be a member of the League; and that, since this understanding was not realized, she could not afford to offer the use of her navy in an action which might result in a collision with the United States Navy and in a war probably of much greater dimensions than that which she was endeavoring to suppress.

The League and Associated Powers

This announced policy of the United States in regard to the League of Nations practically creates what might be called a negative association with the world organization. It creates a connection as close as our association with the Allies in the World War. On that occasion the United States never agreed to surrender her right of individual judgment and individual action; but she co-operated very closely with the European Allies under an arrangement which has been designated in the Treaty of Versailles as "The Allied and Associated Powers". If the policy announced on behalf of President Roosevelt by Norman Davis could be reduced by the League

Council to a definite and written treaty arrangement between the League and the United States, it would create a method of co-operation so close and intimate that, like the war arrangement, it might readily be designated "The Leagued and Associated Powers". The fundamental points in such a working agreement might be, (1) that the Council will sound Washington before designating an aggressor, and will not so designate a nation unless Washington votes affirmatively: (2) after such unanimous designation of an aggressor the League members would agree to apply the blockade sanction of Article XVI, while the United States would agree not to insist upon the right of commerce of her nationals to pass through the League's blockade; and, (3) in the Western Hemisphere the isolation of a nation unanimously designated as an aggressor by the League and the United States would be undertaken by the Pan-American Union with the aid of the United States Navy.

It is evident that with a definite treaty arrangement between the League and America as here outlined the prestige and power of the League in keeping the world's peace would be immensely augmented. No aggressor nation could rely, as now, upon receiving necessary supplies from the United States which would enable her to defy the League's attempt to isolate and blockade her. Great Britain could, without fear of collision with the United States, use the full power of her navy in making the League's blockade effective and thus bringing the aggressor speedily to terms and so restoring the world's peace. Under these circumstances no nation in the world would be mad enough to attempt to defy the League's "recommendations", backed as they would be by the irresistible power of a universal blockade of her borders.

Making the League of Nations Effective

The only danger to the world's peace that would remain would be aggression, not by a single country, but by a powerful group of nations in alliance with one another. In other words, the only war danger remaining would lie in the secession of a large group of

nations from the world organization. If it is to be prepared to meet this danger, the League of Nations must be greatly strengthened: first, by changes in its structure which will enable it to act with far greater speed and certainty: second, it must possess under its own control an adequate international police force to make all resistance to its decisions futile: and, third, its revised structure must be such that the United States may be induced to accept full membership.

Regarding these improvements it may be said that the League of Nations at present is in precisely the same position as were the states of America at the time of their separation from England. The "Firm League of Friendship" which was established under the "Articles of Confederation" was in practically all essential respects identical with the present structure of the League of Nations. The "League of Friendship" could merely request financial quotas from the member states, which the latter generally failed to supply, —an experience which the League of Nations is at present repeating. Decisions in the "League of Friendship" required the affirmative vote of nine of the thirteen states (usually not more than that number could be brought together at one time), which arrangement paralyzed the League in making important and vital decisions,—another experience which the League of Nations is constantly repeating. The "League of Friendship" could merely request armed quotas of soldiers from the state governments, which the latter frequently failed to furnish. In this respect, also, the League of Nations has an identical arrangement.

In short, the American "League of Friendship", like the League of Nations, could act only upon governments of states as political entities: it could not act directly upon individual citizens. It was an alliance of governments, not a federation of peoples. American experience soon proved that such an arrangement is ineffective for a peaceful and prosperous union of states. The experience of the League of Nations, also, has proved the impotence of this loose form of association to maintain world peace and prosperity.

America Might be Won by Making the League a Federation of Nations

Here, in fact, lies the fundamental objection of America to the League of Nations, that it is a super-government, an authority attempting to control governments, instead of acting directly upon individual citizens. The use of force against a government is war: the use of force against an individual criminal is ordinary police action. The United States objects to a world authority which can issue a recommendation to our government to send her armed forces abroad; against an international police force recruited individually and voluntarily from among the citizens of every nation this objection would not lie. America objects to an authority which can make requisitions upon the United States Treasury; to a moderate excise levied by a world authority for its support upon certain commodities irrespective of the nationality of the citizens using such commodities there would be far less strenuous objection.

The course of evolution of every union of states which has endured and has been successful in maintaining peace among its member states has been from the form of a loose confederation or alliance of sovereign governments, through a customs union or the establishment of an area of unhampered commerce among its member states, to the form of an organic federation or the establishment of two coordinate authorities by the citizens of the member states, one of these authorities being entrusted with local affairs and the other with interstate affairs; both authorities being equally authorized to act directly upon individuals, and not being obliged to enforce their regulations against the government of an entire state.

If the League of Nations really wishes to make its organization universal by winning the adhesion of the United States, it could hardly do better at this time than to appoint a committee of its most competent statesmen to study, in conjunction with American statesmen, a method of developing the League into an organic World Federation of such structure as would appeal to the historic experience of this country with the success of this form of interstate union as a preserver of peace and a promoter of prosperity. This way lies feasible and effective world unity.

AMERICA'S COSMIC MISSION

by

PHILIP LEONARD GREEN

"So he said there would be in the end a United States of the World, as compact as the present United States of America. When asked if this change would appear suddenly, he said, no, that it would arise first in the western continent. The bond between North and South America would be greatly strengthened, he declared, and later, the entire two continents, including Mexico and Canada, would grow so harmonious that they would act upon all important questions like one country."

This is not the report of a newspaper interview given by an enthusiastic Pan Americanist. The man who made these statements was not even a citizen of any American nation. He was a Persian mystic—'Abdu'l-Bahá—speaking in 1912 of America, with an objectivity that could hardly be attained by one who is an American.

Before we go any further, it might be well to explain the correct usage of the term "American." In the United States, the greater part of our people use it to denote our country exclusively. This custom is naturally and rightfully offensive to people of other Amercian nations who feel that they, too, are Americans. In fact, just as in England and other northern countries of Europe people refer to citizens of the United States as Americans, so in many parts of southern Europe, Argentines, Chileans and other Latin Americans are often referred to by the same term. Both are incorrect if applied exclusively; both are correct if applied to the inhabitants of the entire American Hemisphere, which was named after Amerigo Vespucci.

If the question of priority should arise, it could be shown that the name "America" was first applied to that part of the Western World now occupied by Brazil, in a map prepared in 1507 (long

before the United States of America was ever thought of), by the geographer Martin Waldseemüller, at the University of St. Die in Lorraine. So it is not strange that Central and South Americans should feel that they have *at least* an equal right to the name "American."

If this were simply a matter of pedantry, it would not deserve a minute's attention; but the attempted monopolization of a term which is correctly continental, by the people of one country on that continent, involves implications which might easily contribute to frictions and misunderstanding. True enough, it is very difficult to arrive at a term which would be truly descriptive of the people who inhabit the United States. Even the term "North Americans" used by many, is not altogether correct, for Canadians and Mexicans are also North Americans. In Spanish there is an accurate term, "estadounidense" derived from "Estados Unidos" the Spanish for "United States," the suffix "ense" corresponding to our suffix "er." And so it has occurred to the writer that especially when dealing with situations where the use of "American" to mean a citizen of the United States exclusively would give offense to other Americans, the term "United Stater" be used. Its unfamiliar sound, to be sure, might cause eyebrows to arch at first, but it is simple enough to be readily absorbed into regular usage. Some people might object pedantically on the ground that there are other countries which embody in their official names the term "United States." However, in each case, the citizens of those countries have a concise and correct term to describe their nationality, while those of the United States have not.

Knowing, then, what we mean by "America," we can proceed to attain a higher concept of its mission in the world than we could otherwise.

It took a series of events culminating in the London Economic Conference to prove to hard-headed statesmen that even in the field of economics, America would have to look to itself for some time to come for its own growth and at the same time act as a gathering-up place for the now sadly interrupted forces of international co-operation.

The result has been a quickened interest among official circles to arrive at new understandings between American nations. But this official interest is not enough. The first to point this out are public officials themselves. In order that there may be a real, widespread understanding of America's unique opportunity to provide the world with a living example of human brotherhood, it is not even enough that selected groups in each American country should be on friendly terms with selected groups in other American countries. There is a world of difference between the promotion of understanding between the *people* of the Americas and promoting understanding between *the* people of the Americas.

Granted, the spreading of understanding to the people of even one country is a Herculean task. But it is one that will have to be performed before we can begin to talk with any degree of sense about inter-American understanding.

We in the United States have a peculiarly important part to play in this work. In order to play that part, we must realize at the very start that we have much to learn and that an interest in Pan American affairs need not, in fact, should not, be limited to the relatively few people who happen to have material or cultural interest in Latin America. In view of new world alignments now taking shape, the Latin American countries and their relations with us should be of vital concern to every United Stater who is capable of having an opinion on any public question.

The Elder Statesman, Elihu Root, once remarked quite pointedly, "A democracy which undertakes to control its own foreign relations, should know something about the subject." Public ignorance concerning international affairs, which would be relatively inconsequential in an autocracy or oligarchy, becomes a potential calamity in a democracy. False steps, fateful in their consequences, may often be traced to an inadequate comprehension of international problems by the people.

Especially in the field of Latin America, the surprising ignorance, even among some of our better educated people, has furnished numerous provocations for explosive denunciation or side-splitting mirth on the part of Latin Americans, depending on the nature of

the instances where such ignorance was displayed.

That Latin America, so near to us historically as well as geographically, and therefore deserving of a better fate, should be virtually singled out as the object of our collective ignorance, is due to a number of causes not visible to the uninitiated. Of course, in all justice, it must be admitted that Latin America is not by any means the only part of the world concerning which we have known much less than we should. Until very recent times the provincialism of our nation concerning world affairs in general was proverbial. But in the case of Latin America it is less excusable, for here are nations which are bound to us by every possible tie, material as well as spiritual.

However, it is not altogether the fault of our people. A country with one hundred twenty millions of inhabitants, in the very nature of things, has much to occupy public attention. Many nations of Europe and other parts of the world, realizing this, make determined, scientific efforts to draw attention to themselves when they feel that they have a reason to do so and thus the people of the United States have become conscious of many small, far-off lands in recent years. But the Latin American countries—twenty in all—have never been able to get together for the purpose of doing likewise. It is to be hoped that in the near future, at least certain nations may find means of pooling their efforts to make themselves better understood here.

Another cause which has contributed to our collective lack of knowledge concerning Latin America is that much authoritative material which is available is uninteresting to the average reader, while much of the interesting material is unauthoritative.

Such scholarly and thorough works on Latin America as do exist, are prevented from having a wide circulation because of their very erudition.

Yet, outside of these works, where can one go for information on Latin America? In the main, the written works available are carelessly written and flimsy, calculated to entertain rather than to enlighten. For some mysterious reason, Latin America has been the happy hunting ground of the dabbler—a field of which it may be

truly said that fools rush in where angels fear to tread.

People who would tremble at the idea of writing as much as a short statement on even one phase of life in, say, England or Japan, after visiting these countries, will blithely proceed to give birth to entire volumes of glittering generalities about Latin America after having sojourned briefly at a few of its ports and capitals.

Of course, there are people who have been engaged for years in business or other contacts with Latin American countries who do know those countries; and the fact that they may know them only from their own personal angle or even be prejudiced in their viewpoint does not detract from the potential value of the contribution they could make to a better knowledge of Latin America in this country. Many people who have been engaged in commercial activities in Latin America have come to acquire a real regard for those countries and could do much to spread a feeling of friendship for them. But there seems to be no united effort to bring their very valuable knowledge and experience to others who could profit thereby. Here again, the field of Latin America seems to present a unique phenomenon in that many who know most about it are least heard, while many who are most heard, know least.

Of course, there are a number of associations and committees with the avowed purpose of promoting an understanding of these questions. But since they are necessarily privately financed, there is always the danger that instead of imparting information in the manner of educational institutions, they may be used to further a predetermined and not always disinterested viewpoint on most matters to which they direct their attention. Or, quite innocently, they may emphasize problems which are of interest to their directors and officers rather than those from the solution of which the nation would benefit in its relations with Latin America.

Then again, there is the very human tendency for such organizations to attract as members those belonging to the same social caste as the founders and moving spirits, while consciously or unwittingly ignoring those not belonging to the same caste. Yet just those who are thus ignored might be most effective in furthering

the cause which these organizations purport to espouse.

This tendency to follow class divisions even in such supposedly humanitarian organizations as those devoted to international understanding is quite human because after people have become set in their ways, they function best in and with groups similar to those to which they have become accustomed through previous association.

Fortunately, in the United States, racial and religious barriers are not as marked as in many other parts of the globe, though it would be untrue to say that they do not exist simply because they make themselves felt in more subtle ways. But class difference, based on economic status, is very real, despite vehement statements to the contrary. The lines of this fairly rigid caste system are broken down only by political organizations around election time—and then, for reasons quite uninfluenced by brotherly love.

Hence, in ordinary times and under ordinary circumstances, the rich man will not, as a rule, associate with the poor man even in such a great cause as international understanding, fearing that he may lose caste by the association.

However, while this tendency to congregate along class lines is human, it provides one of the main causes for the slow progress evident today in promoting international understanding.

Perhaps the key to the solution of this problem lies in enlisting the younger generation in efforts to attain and promote international understanding. At a time of life when class delineations are not as marked as in later years, it is just possible that their united efforts in a great cause may lay the foundation for future efforts of a similar nature.

Fortunately, a beginning has been made in this direction as far as inter-American relations are concerned. The Pan American student movement is performing a distinct function today in preparing young men and women to understand the history, the culture and the problems of other Americans and the part that these other Americans are destined to play, together with us, in carrying out America's mission of promoting human brotherhood by practicing it.

DISARMING THE INTERNATIONAL MIND

by

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IN Europe since the War has developed a cluster of rapidly growing nationalisms. The patterns of nationalism,—a concept epitomized by Carlton J. H. Hayes as "patriotic snobbery,—" remain essentially unchanged in England and France; but in Italy, Germany, and Russia, revolutions having overthrown the old governments, it has been necessary to educate the people to a sort of revised patriotism; while in Central Europe the succession states have started with an almost clean slate in their program of building a strongly nationalistic citizenry.

From the very beginning of modern history, the intellectual life of a nation has been a dominant factor in establishing its national character. Dante and Chaucer were two pioneers in the creation of national literatures, one of the earliest forces which operates to unify a people and make it a distinct identity. During the eighteenth century active attention was first paid to the writing of nationalist histories and to pseudo-philological studies of the superiority of particular languages, as well as to the direct teaching of nationalism in pubic schools, which came to be universal and free in many countries.

These forces, in conjunction with militarism and a jingoistic press, had created by 1914 a series of self-contained compartments, known as nations, each believing itself the salt of the earth,—salt which by no means lost its savour during the Great War, but which did emerge slightly altered, as by some mammoth chemical reaction.

Centrifugal trends in the Hapsburg Empire and along the

Baltic forced the peace conference to create, however inefficiently, still more of these nationalistic compartments, on the theory of race-liberty introduced by Wilson. Each of the new states had before it the task of making loyal citizens. Moreover, intensive new programs of nationalization developed in several of the old states which had undergone changes in government, such as Italy, Russia, Austria, Germany, and later, Ireland.

Cultural factors have been emphasized strongly in all cases. Nationalist cultural ideologies have been constructed through theatres, newspapers, movies, radios,—and perhaps most important in its significance for the future,—the schools. Nationalist history, literature, art, and music play important parts in the curricula of every educational system in which the national government has a hand. Students are instilled carefully with the glory and supremacy of *la Patrie* or *das Vaterland.* Text-books are selected by the state with the aim of arousing a patriotism that is easily converted into an ardent nationalism when occasion demands.

The cultural influence in post-war nationalism was recently dramatized in Germany by the accession to power of Adolf Hitler, whose brown-shirted, swastika-sleeved young Nazi stormtroopers are recruited largely from university centers. At the opposite extreme, in so far as political theories go, Soviet Russia promotes the "cultural revolution" just as vigorously as Hitler evangelizes the "Third Reich." The literature which the Soviet citizen reads, the music he hears, the stage he attends,—all are employed to instil a proletarian culture unimpeachably nationalistic in its total effect.

If nationalism is to be successfully fought, therefore, it must be attacked in its cultural aspects as well as its military and imperialistic programs, for it is a nationalist culture that forms the framework where hangs the entire ideology.

Moreover, an attack on the cultural element of nationalism must be waged carefully. An urbane policy of persuasion is the only possible one, for so many complexities of race pride and hate are involved that the least lack of skill would arouse antagonism. Men and nations must be educated gradually to internationalism; and the mode of education must not impinge, except impercep-

tibly, upon the sacred ideals into which national freedom and independence have come to be sublimated.

When the League of Nations was set up with its Utopian aim "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security (*Preamble, Covenant*)," its friends realized that such a goal could be attained only against a background of an international culture,—a spirit of co-operation among the scientific, literary, and artistic workers of the world.

To build this "universal conscience" would require a longer time and more persistent tactics than even the spectacular "pacific settlement of international disputes" or the perennial disarmament and war-debt conferences. However, once established, it would insure the success of these latter programs; and afford a line of action across the gulf between the international anarchy of the past and the longed-for world confederation of the future,—a gulf which the League hopes ultimately to bridge.

For these reasons the Council and Assembly of the League organized, early in their history, a Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which has developed rapidly into one of the most important features of the League's technical activities. Thirty-seven nations, including the United States, have national committees working with the League body,* which has grown today into a full-fledged Intellectual Co-operation Organization, comparable in its field to the International Labor Office.

Strictly speaking, the League's work in intellectual co-operation was not a wholly new activity. Many pre-war movements had paved the way,—notably the International Office of Bibliography, set up in 1895 at Brussels; and the Union of International Associations, which held its first World Congress in 1910, and by 1914 included 230 international groups. In reality, the Union was a forerunner of the entire concept of a League of Nations,—a fact which intimately binds up the origins of the Intellectual Organization with those of the League itself.

After an abortive attempt to include an article on intellectual co-operation in the Covenant of the League, La Fontaine, the Belgian who had pioneered the Union of International Associations,

*National committees on intellectual cooperation are official governmental agencies in some countries, informal groups in others. They exist at present in Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jugoslavia, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States.

reported on the question to the first session of the Assembly. He recommended that the intellectual workers of the world be provided with facilities for collaboration of research and study, and that the League co-ordinate all work then being done in the field under one center. La Fontaine's report was accepted in substance by the Assembly, and the Council delegated Sir Gilbert Murray to draft a concrete proposal, which was adopted by the second Assembly in 1922. It provided for a Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, with twelve members chosen by the Council. The immediate duty of the Committee was to organize a technical section of the League and to advise the Council on any subject of intellectual co-operation.

The first meeting was held at Geneva on August 1, 1922, under the chairmanship of Henri Bergson, the famous French philosopher. Bergson was later replaced by Doctor Lorentz, of the University of Leydon. The present chairman is Sir Gilbert Murray. With more diverse activity, membership has twice been increased, —to fifteen, and finally to seventeen.

For three years the work of the committee was restricted to research and the examination of a suitable program. This activity followed five principal lines, chosen at the first meeting:

1) The institution of a general inquiry into the conditions of intellectual life in all parts of the world.
2) The examination of the problem of assistance to nations whose intellectual life was especially endangered.
3) The study of questions of scientific and intellectual property.
4) A study of university co-operation.
5) A study of the international co-ordination of bibliographical research.

A great mass of documentation on these subjects was compiled from national departments of education, national academies, universities and learned societies. When completed it gave an accurate insight into the conditions of intellectual life throughout the world during and after the Great War.

It revealed, for example, that living conditions of intellectual workers had fallen tremendously in countries whose rate of exchange had suffered,—as in Austria and Germany. An appeal was issued in 1922 to learned societies and institutions of the world for assistance to Austria by exchanging publications, professors, and students; and supplying clothing and other necessities. The response was immediate and succeeded in breaking down the intellectual isolation which had developed. Similar appeals were issued later for Hungary; and minor assistance was rendered in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Jugoslavia, Lithuania, Poland and Roumania. Valuable help was also given by replacing foreign books in the Imperial University of Tokyo library, destroyed by the 1923 earthquake.

To secure better contact between educational forces of the world, the Committee formed in 1924 an International University Information Office, attached to the League Secretariat. It holds conferences for international students' associations, and serves as an agency for establishing equivalence of degrees and curricula, and for the assistance of foreign students in all countries.

In bibliographical work the Committee early began to work with the Brussels Bibliographical Institute; and in addition published an *Index Bibliographicus,* giving systematic tables of all bibliographical institutes and periodicals in existence.

From the first the Committee had felt hampered by its nonpermanant organization and lack of funds; and in 1924, Bergson, as chairman, appealed for assistance in "the serious crisis through which intellectual life in general is passing." It was evident that further expansion would be impossible without some definite agency for carrying out the projects already planned. Work thus far had been handled by three sub-committees,—on University Relations, on Science and Bibliography, and on Intellectual Rights,—and by a few workers in the general League Secretariat; but these agencies were inadequate.

To provide for this much needed expansion, the French government generously came forward with an offer to furnish a building and an annual subsidy of two million francs for an In-

ternational Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Curiously enough, a tinge of nationalism was apparently a factor in the offer. "It is an old tradition," runs the letter from the Minister of Education to Bergson, "that France is particularly sensitive to the ills which beset intellectual work. It can therefore be understood that France would take the first step . . . " The only condition made, however, was that the new Institute be located at Paris. A letter from Premier Herriot, suggesting an Organic Statute for the Institute, was approved by the Council on December 13, 1924; and one year later,—January 16, 1926, the Institute was formally inaugurated with quarters in the Montpensier wing of the Palais Royal.

Work at the Institute was first carried on with a permanent staff supervised by a committee of seven directors from the League Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The permanent staff was divided into sections for university relations, natural sciences, social sciences, artistic relations, literary relations, and information; and into service forces for legal questions, documentation, correspondence, and administration.

In 1925 there had been set up a fourth sub-committee,—on Arts and Letters. One phase of this sub-committee's work is the International Museum's Office, approved by the Sixth Assembly of the League in 1926. A meeting of curators of the world's leading museums was held to lay down a program; and the Institute at Paris provided facilities for carrying out these plans. Features of the Museum's Office's work have been exhibits of engravings and photographs; and encouragement of the educational functions of museums. A quarterly periodical, *Mouseion,* catalogs the contents of national museums, and attempts to appraise their educational value. Another activity engaged in by the sub-committee on Arts and Letters is the work of "instruction of youth in the aims and ideals of the League," which, begun in 1926, is carried on through the Educational Information Centers at Paris and Geneva.

Not to be outdone by France, Italy came forward in March, 1926, with an offer, similar to Herriot's, to maintain an International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (to be housed at Rome, just as the French-maintained Institute was to be located at Paris).

A subsidy of 1,000,000 lire annually was voted; and the offer was accepted by the Sixth Assembly. Work at the Private Law Institute is mostly research, its object being "to study methods for the assimilation and co-ordination of private law . . . and to prepare for the gradual adoption by the various states of uniform private law legislation." Besides serving the Intellectual Co-operation Organization, the Institute also co-operates with the Labor Office and other technical groups requesting aid. Its history dates from May 30, 1928, when it was officially opened in the Villa Aldobrandini, Rome.

In the latter part of the same year another Italian proposal came to fruitage with the establishment of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, on November 1. The subject of educational films as a means of promoting international good-will had been considered favorably by the Paris Institute of Intellectual Co-operation; but the technical aspect of such work made that body hesitant to do anything in the field. The new separate Institute, with the aim of encouraging "the production, distribution, and exchange between countries of educational films concerning art, industry, agriculture, commerce, health, social education, etc," is directed by a Governing Body of twelve, seven being from the Intellectual Organization. A monthly, the *International Review of Educational Cinematography,* is issued in separate editions in French, German, Italian, Spanish, and English. Legal, technical, sociological, and educational developments in the film industry form its contents. In preparation is a *Cinematographic Encyclopoedia,* to be devoted largely to technical information. Work is centered in two offices,—at the Villa Torlonia, Rome; and the Villa Falconieri, Frascate.

In so extensive a program as that of the intellectual Co-operation Organization, criticisms were certain to arise. Even in 1925, the Australian delegation in the Assembly had objected to locating the Institute at Paris instead of Geneva; and for that reason had voted against accepting Herriot's offer. Complaints soon developed regarding the complexity of the Institute's divisions; and the League auditor periodically objected to the expense account. There was

never a question as to the activity of the Organization; on the contrary it was alleged that the group undertook so many labors that it unduly diffused its energies.

These and other criticisms led the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in 1929 to ask the Tenth Assembly for an official investigation. A Committee of Enquiry, numbering eight members, was appointed by the Assembly, and from April 14 to May 2, 1930, it conducted a thorough survey of the field of intellectual co-operation, within and without the League. It sat at Geneva and Paris, in secret sessions, studying the Paris Institute, the Museum's Office, the many international conferences held, the entertainment bills, the Budget,—in short, everything subject to investigation. When the Committee of Enquiry reported its findings, considerable changes were effected in the Organization by the Twelfth Assembly. First of all, a formal restatement was made of the League's purpose in the field:

> "The activity of the League of Nations in the sphere of intellectual co-operation aims at the promotion and collaboration between nations in all fields of intellectual effort in order to promote a spirit of international understanding as a means to the preservation of peace."

The most important elements of the reorganization were the abolition of three of the four sub-committees (the one on Arts and Letters being continued); the creation of an Executive and Directors' Committee of nine, to control the work throughout the year (the annual meetings of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee itself being deemed absurdly inadequate); and the abolition of the intricate section divisions of the Paris Institute. Work is now done through committees of experts. These are of three types,—temporary groups for the study of a specific problem; semi-permanent groups for more extended work,—such as the Museum's Office; and groups to determine the suitability of including a problem on the Organization's program. In December, 1932, there were fifteen such committees, eleven being of the second class, despite the fact that the Committee of Enquiry had specifically warned against this type, as being too likely to become permanent.

That the Organization itself was able to carry out so complete a reorganization speaks well for the sincerity if its supporters. Every effect is made to achieve in fact the best medium for exercising the functions which, by a deductive approach, the Committee of Enquiry found most likely to achieve international cultural good-will.

But to appreciate the value of the Intellectual Organization's efforts in establishing collaboration among the cultural workers of the world, one must go back to the bare outline of administrative history; and consider some of its concrete accomplishments. Only then can one arrive at a synthesis of its worth in the world peace movement as a whole.

Such accomplishments are not at all hard to find. Indeed, they are so many and varied as to make a selection difficult. There have been four chief fields of activity;—research on questions of intellectual co-operation; the drafting of treaties and agreements; the sponsoring of international conferences and congresses; and the publication of periodicals and books.

When the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation decides to place any new question on its program, it summons a group of experts to the Institute at Paris, who determine whether or not the subject is suitable for adoption. If it is found worthwhile, another committee conducts a more extended research to find some plan of securing international co-ordination in the sphere in question. Thus two definite researches are held before any activity is undertaken, —a procedure which, while sometimes incurring delay, insures a sound basis of facts upon which to act.

Research on the possibilities of the radio and phonograph as educational media is a recent example of such surveys. Twenty-two countries were investigated; and among the definite recommendations resulting was one that radio programs unfriendly to foreign states should be prohibited by the various governments, especially when the broadcasts are intended to be heard abroad. It was also suggested that nations whose musical history is little known should prepare syllabi for use by broadcasting companies in International Musical Broadcasts, several of which have been

presented under the Institute's direction.

Legal research has formed a large part of the Institute's activity. Until the reorganization of 1930, the Institute maintained a legal section, which made important studies of the legal status of international associations, of laws affecting scientific bodies and intellectual workers, of the protection of historic buildings and landscapes, and of a proposed statute governing archaeological excavations. This department was discontinued in 1930, chiefly because it duplicated work done by the Private Law Institute at Rome.

Other inquiries held by the Institute cover questions of the value of music and poetry in building an international culture, the encouragement of an international theatre, the degree of moral disarmament achieved today by all agencies, workers' leisure as connected with popular libraries, and the international exchange of students and instructors in universities.

With regard to international agreements,—only a few formal treaty drafts have been prepared; but many informal agreements have been sponsored by the Organization, while other international draft conventions await final action before adoption by the nations of the world.

Two important drafts made by the Institute deal with intellectual rights. Since 1924, the Organization has sought to have adopted an agreement for protecting the rights of the scientist in his discovery or invention, much after the manner of copyright. Senator Ruffini, of Italy, has been the chief exponent of this draft, which assumes that the scientist who makes a discovery is entitled to a share of the money saved by its exploitation. The proposal now awaits action by a Diplomatic conference to be called by the League. An agreement affecting authors and artists is the revision of copyright laws, adopted at Rome in 1927. Two new features were included,—*droit de suite,* or the right of the author to share in successive sales of his work; and *droit au respect,*— a clause protecting works of art against alterations which change their character. The question of copyright will be considered further at the forthcoming Brussels Conference on the subject.

In 1925, M. Cesares, of Spain, proposed that the Committee

on Intellectual Co-operation provide a means for correcting errors in history and geography textbooks, especially when such errors were likely to lead to international misunderstandings. In 1931, after a survey of texts used in different countries, the Committee adopted a procedure under which national committees on intellectual co-operation informally request each other to seek revision of errors of fact, or of opinions revealing animosity toward a foreign state. The Committee itself acts as arbitrator in disputes.

Other agreements sponsored by the Organization include a convention for co-ordination of national bibliographical services of all kinds; one for the custom-free exchange of educational films; and rules for taking casts of historical sculptures.

Not all proposed drafts are found desirable. For example, Dr. Tanakadate, the Japanese member, proposed in 1930 an agreement for the universal adoption of Roman letters in printing; but the suggestion was never drafted into a treaty because it was found that many of the nations affected (such as Russia, Persia, China, Japan, Egypt, Jugoslavia, and Bulgaria) considered the matter their own affair.

Perhaps the most prolific field of the Organization's endeavors is the sponsoring of international congresses and conferences. This is especially true since 1926, when quartering the Institute at Paris provided a convenient center for such gatherings.

Some of the most important of these conferences have been those held by the Museum's Office. A convention of eleven national museums in 1927 planned a series of international exhibitions of chalcographies (engravings), which was held successively in sixteen European cities. Three exhibits of castings followed in 1930. Another phase of the work undertaken by the Museum's Office is the preservation of works of art. To this end two major congresses have been devoted,—one at Rome, in October, 1930, which discussed the preservation of paintings by scientific methods; and another at Athens, in October, 1931, which dealt with the preservation of historical monuments. More than three hundred delegates attended these meetings.

A meeting of experts on international problems has been held

annually since 1928, when the Conference of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations was founded at Berlin. Its last session, in 1932 at Milan, was devoted to a study of "The State and Economic Life;" and its findings were published by the Institute. The next meeting, at London this year, will continue the same study.

A Congress of Popular Arts, held at Prague in 1928, led to plans for an International Popular Arts Exhibition at Berne in 1934; but the economic depression has caused the Committee to postpone it until 1939. The work of the Prague Congress is published in two volumes,—*Arts Populaires,* by the Institute.

The Committee on Arts and Letters, made a permanent body after the reorganization of 1930, has originated a novel scheme for conducting its sessions. This is the plan for "Conversations" on important cultural topics by outstanding thinkers throughout the world. The first "Conversations," at the Frankfort congress in 1932, were devoted to the German poet Goethe, whose centenary was celebrated by meeting at his birthplace. The 1933 "Conversations" will be on the subject of the destiny and future of Europe.

Other important international conferences include those of national library officials, of national committees on intellectual cooperation, of League of Nations Societies, of directors of national university offices, and of international students' organizations. A special request from the Chinese government in 1931, asking for the help of the Intellectual Organization in reforming the Chinese school system, was responded to by a delegation of five European educators, who spent four months in China and made a report on centralization of education and related matters. In April, 1932, a group of Chinese educators came to Europe to make a survey of western educational systems. They are being assisted by the staff and research facilities of the Institute.

Publications of the Organization are valuable in securing public recognition of its work and in presenting the results of its research. A press agent service is carried on at the Institute, sending comuniqués to some two hundred news agencies and papers, besides preparing more formal notices for use in year books and

international reviews. Of periodicals, the most important is the *Bulletin de la Co-operation Intellectuelle,* a monthly devoted to the work of the Paris organization, and similar to the English *Information Bulletin of the League of Nations' Intellectual Co-operation Organization,* also a monthly. *Mouseion,* a quarterly, is published by the Museum's Office; and the *Bulletin of the International University Information Office* deals with exchanges, scholarships, equivalence of degrees, summer courses, etc. *Index Translationum* gives quarterly a bibliography of works translated in French, German, Italian, Spanish, and English.

Outstanding books issued by the Organization include: *Index Bibliographicus* (two editions); *University Exchanges in Europe* (two editions); *Advanced Holiday Courses in Europe; Intellectual Co-operation and the Fine Arts; Revision of School Text-books; The Reorganization of Education in China; The State and Economic Life; The Preservation and Protection of Artistic and Historical Monuments,* giving the results of the Rome and Athens congresses; *Repertories of Museums; Arts Populaires; Conversations on Goethe;* and the Latin-American classics, a series of French translations of Latin-American authors, financed privately. Projected are a *Lexicon of Political Terms,* and an *International Who's Who.*

Since its inception, the Intellectual Co-operation Organization has attracted the services of the highest type of intellectual workers. Until recently, Albert Einstein was an active member of the Committee. Other Nobel prize winners who have served are Madame Curie, Dr. R. A. Millikan, Prof. H. A. Lorentz, the Dutch physicist, and Henri Bergson, the French philosopher. Sir Gilbert Murray, professor of Greek at Oxford, is the present chairman. The prominence of these names insures not only wise guidance of the Organization's program, but also attracts the interest of many who would not be influenced by the intrinsic value of the work.* An effort is made to select the members so as to represent in rotation all of the smaller states in the League; and to divide the honors somewhat equally among the various learned professions.

Thus it is that the League strikes at narrow national cultures. What the ultimate influence will be, no one can say;—let it suffice

*The present membership: Chairman—Sir Gilbert Murray (English); Chairman of the Governing Body of the Institute at Paris—Paul Painlevé (French); members—Mme Curie Skadowska (Polish; Jose Castillejo (Spanish); G. de Reynolds (Swiss); Alfredo Rocco (Italian); Joseph Susta (Czech); Aikitu Tanakadate (Japanese); N. Titulesco (Roumanian); Wu-Shi Fee (Chinese); M. Loder (Dutch); Krüss (German); James Shotwell (American); Sanin Cano (Columbian); Gosta S. Forsell (Swedish); Heinrich von Srbik (Austrian); and Sir Saruapalli Radhakrishnan (Indian).

that here is an agency striving to bring together the best minds of the world and to encourage the exchange of knowledge and ideas in a manner that it hopes will eventually establish bonds of international understanding and good-will so essential to peace. That mankind possesses the qualities necessary for appreciation of an international culture is indisputable. Most great literature is world literature. Science and music are international languages to a large extent. The great intellects of all time and all places belong to civilization as a whole.

How readily a properly conditioned world might react to a higher type of cultural pride on the part of a nation was amply demonstrated in Germany during the celebration of the Goethe centenary. Even in France, praise of the great poet was poured out generously. How sharp a contrast with the foreign attitude toward Hitler's boasted nationalist culture! Culture at its lowest stage seems always to breed the strongest national hatreds. In its Intellectual Co-operation program, the League essays to achieve for the world a moral growth to that Utopian level once described by Goethe himself as "the stage of culture where national hatred totally disappears, and where one feels the good fortune or distress of his neighbor people as if it had happened to his own."

PEACE AND THE CREATIVE WRITER

by

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SEVERAL years ago, as I heard the "Orestes" of O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra* suggest that women serve a few weeks in the field to rid them of their romantic admiration of the soldier, and as I listened to the little burst of applause that followed, I thought of the many creative writers—dramatists, novelists, poets—who have been trying by their art to dull the glamor of war and to show us the necessity for peace. The voices of the historian, the economist, and the journalist are strong, but the voice of the creative writer is still stronger.

The novel or short story, the drama, the poem, wields a greater and a wider influence than a book of technical pacifist propaganda. It is read by more people, and especially by more people who need either to be convinced that war is wrong or to be stirred to think about the problem. "Poets," said the poet Shelley, "are the unacknowledged legislators of the world." Carlyle quoted an older writer as saying, "Let me make the songs of a people, and you shall make its laws." They meant that the appeal which the poet makes to the emotions of man is stronger than that which the legislator makes to his reason. For by speaking to his reason alone, you may not move man very far. But stir his feelings and you many move him to thoughts and deeds unimagined by his mere intellect. Point out to his reason the wrongs of mankind, and he will regretfully —and, too often, often, passively—acquiesce. Rouse him to sympathy with his fellow-men, and he will be imbued with a passion for reforming the world. There is danger, to be sure, of sentimentality in such an appeal. But the true artist is never sentimental.

Nor are artists men without thought and without address to the mind. The object of poetry, said Wordsworth, is Truth—Truth carried alive into the heart by passion.

Until the present century, the literary expression of that passion for peace has had no very striking history. Many voices have been lifted in praise of the blessings of peace, but comparatively few in protest against the curse of war. Aristophanes wrote *Lysistrata* and *Peace;* Vergil's soul, though he wrote of wars, desired peace; Swift maintained that war was uncivilized; the romantic idealists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, like Blake, and Coleridge, and Shelley, and Southey, attacked war as futile and as the work of tyrants who used the soldier as the helpless instrument of their greed and ambition. In *The Battle of Blenheim,* the child's insistent questioning—

"But what good came of it at last?"
Quoth little Peterkin—

brought from old Caspar only the bewildered answer:

"Why that I cannot tell," said he.
"But 'twas a famous victory."

William Blake argued that there could be no war to end war—

But vain the sword and vain the bow;
They never can work war's overthrow—

and pictured the effect of war upon mankind—

Nought can deform the human race
Like to the armour's iron brace—

and laid the blame at the door of the rulers—

And the hapless soldier's sigh
Runs in blood down palace walls.

In Coleridge's *Omniana* is found the following observation on war:

> It would have proved a striking part of a vision presented to Adam the day after the death of Abel, to have brought before his eyes half a million of men crowded together in the space of a square mile. When the first father had exhausted his wonder on the multitude of his offspring, he would then naturally inquire of his angelic instructor, for what

> purpose so vast a multitude had assembled? What is the common end? Alas! to murder each other,—all Cains, and yet no Abels!

Many of the great Victorians protested against war—Ruskin, Carlyle, Tennyson—although the strong nationalistic spirit which had taken the place of the individualistic and international attitude of the Romantics led them to justify war under certain circumstances. In this country, Hawthorne introduced his conception of the stupidity of war into two of his stories for children from Greek mythology, *The Dragon's Teeth* and *The Golden Fleece.* And in any anthology of peace poetry should be found the work of Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, Joaquin Miller, and our Quaker poet, Whittier. To the last part of the nineteenth century belong Tolstoi's mighty *War and Peace,* Baroness von Sutphen's *Die Waffen Nieder,* and Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage.*

With few exceptions, the great bulk of the anti-war writing before the twentieth century was in verse. It needed the development of realistic writing—perhaps it needed even the Great War of 1914 to 1918 itself—to lay the stress upon the dreadful details of battle and upon the seriousness of its after-effects, two themes most naturally handled in fiction and drama. Whatever the cause, there have been since 1900 a very large number of books—novels, plays, essays, memoirs, as well as poems—written some of them with clear pacifistic intent, some of them probably without any thought of propaganda, but carrying Truth alive into the heart by such strong passion that their effect is even more striking. Hervey Allen, for example, claimed in the Preface to *Toward the Flame* that the book was written without any such purpose; yet it is almost inconceivable that anyone could read it, or the many others like it, and still feel that any shreds of glory were clinging to the skeleton of modern battle. Most of these books have appeared, as is natural, since 1918. But even before 1914 there had been written a surprising number, including Wells *In the Days of the Comet,* Galsworthy's *The Mob,* Zangwill's *The War God,* Charles Rann Kennedy's *The Terrible Meek,* Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion,* Frederick Palmer's *The Last Shot,* Andreyev's *The Red Laugh.*

It must be understood that creative writers have always found in war those things which are to be admired—romance and adventure, heroism, self-sacrifice, devotion to a great cause. Much fine literature has been based upon the glorification of these values and virtues which do admittedly belong to war—and much ephemeral writing also. Especially during the war years, when excitement and patriotism ran high and when it was deemed necessary to keep up the morale of combatants and non-combatants alike, many such books and poems were published. Many of them sprang from genuine emotions, from pride in heroic deeds, devotion to allied nations, hatred of what it was believed the enemy was trying to do, sincere love of country. It is necessary to mention only Rupert Brooke's *The Soldier.* Artists are idealists, and the idealization of war has been possible because they have seen in it opportunities for fine and noble conduct. For that conduct we can have nothing but admiration and gratitude. Many a man has found on the field of battle the romance and adventure that his nature craved; many a deed of heroism and self-sacrifice has been performed in war; many a man has found strength of character in the army. But the logic that would seemingly justify the slaughter of a million men because a few have found adventure or their souls failed to satisfy a large number who really knew what war was like.

A certain General recently told a group of World War veterans that the pacifists were ruling the country, and that every veteran should do something personally to stop them. (Incidentally, it is an encouraging sign when the militarist expresses fear of the pacifist's power. He may be worried about his job, like the poor Major in Edna St. Vincent Millay's verses, whose Armistice Day was quite spoiled for him by the presence of pacifists in the parade:

"If you go and abolish war," said he,
"Where in hell would the army be?
Dear me, yes," said the Major,
"Where *would* the army be?"

As a matter of fact, in spite of the fears and exhortations of Majors and Generals, it is the war veterans who have spoken out in creative literature against war. For the most part, however, they held their

peace until after the war was over, sometimes for many years. In general what H. M. Tomlinson wrote in *Waiting For Daylight* (1922) over the date, October 26, 1918, was probably true:

> They [i. e., authors] rarely summon the courage to attack the heroic dummies which are not soldiers but idols set up in a glorious battlefield that never existed except as a romance among the unimaginative; the fine figures and the splendid war that were air-built of a rapture. These authors who were soldiers faced the real War, but they dare not deride the noble and popular figments which live but in the transports of the exalted.

There were, however, a few who dared, while the war was still going on, to tell the truth about war as they saw it: Tomlinson himself in *Illusion,* Miles Malleson in *Black 'Ell,* Gilbert Frankau in *The Song of the Guns,* Wilfred Wilson Gibson in *Battle and Other Poems,* Siegfried Sassoon in *Counter-Attack,* William Ellery Leonard in *War-Time Comments,* which had to be withdrawn from circulation; Henri Barbusse in *Le Feu,* George Duhamel in *La Vie des Martyrs* and *Civilization,* Henry Jaques in *Nous . . . de la Guerre,* and a number of French diarists; in Germany, Leonard Frank in *Der Mensch Ist Gut,* and Andreas Latzko in *Menschen im Krieg.* And there were a few observers, like Drinkwater and Shaw, who dared to go counter to public opinion.

In the years after the armistice, particularly in the last ten or fifteen years, the presses of the United States and of all the nations of Europe, especially England, France, and Germany, have been pouring out war books. These recent books are doubly effective in that they are not open to the charge of being the result of post-war hysteria. Their numbers prove the truth of what Mr. Ford Madox Ford, writing of his series of novels about Christopher Tietjens, said:

> Few writers can have engaged themselves as combatants in what, please God, will yet prove to be the war that ended war, without the intention of aiding with their writings, if they survived, in bringing about such a state of mind as should end wars as possibilities.

Most numerous of these war books are those that picture grimly and realistically the horrors of war: the novels of Remarque, of Thomas Boyd, of Dos Passos, of Mottram, Sherrif's *Journey's End,* the poems of Owen and Graves and Sassoon, full of savage indignation. These men have found, as Graves says, in the sights and sounds of the war, "a certain cure for lust of blood." One poem of Sassoon must suffice, *Rear-Guard*:

Groping along the tunnel, step by step,
He winked his prying torch with patching glare
From side to side, and sniffed the unwholesome air.
Tins, boxes, bottles, shapes too vague to know,
A mirror smashed, the mattress from a bed;
And he, exploring fifty feet below
The rosy gloom of battle overhead.
Tripping, he grabbed the wall; saw someone lie
Humped at his feet, half-hidden by a rug,
And stooped to give the sleeper's arm a tug.
"I'm looking for headquarters." No reply.
"God blast your neck!" (For days he'd had no sleep.)
Savage, he kicked a soft unanswering heap,
And flashed his torch across the livid face
Terribly glaring up, whose eyes yet wore
Agony dying hard ten days before;
And fists of fingers clutched a blackening wound.
Alone he staggered on until he found
Dawn's ghost that filtered down a shafted stair
To the dazed, muttering creatures underground
Who hear the boom of shells in muffled sound.
At last, with sweat of horror in his hair,
He climbed the darkness to the twilight air
Unloading hell behind him, step by step.

Closely allied with these are the books which show the effects of the war upon the young, such as Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* or that striking autobiography by Vera Brittain, *The Testament of Youth;* upon the cultivated man of middle age, as in *Journey's End,* where we see both young and old, and in

Ford's tetralogy, where we see, as Mr. Ford says, "the end of the war of attrition through the eyes of a fairly stolid, fairly well instructed man"; upon the ignorant, as in *The Case of Sergeant Grischa,* and in Scanlon's *God Have Mercy on Us;* upon post-war life, as in Remarque's later book, *The Road Back,* and in the stories of men like Sir Philip Hamilton Gibbs. No wonder Osbert Sitwell's *Blind Beggar* thanked God and was glad

For what I cannot see this day
—The young men cripples, old, and sad,
With faces burnt and torn away;
Or those who, growing rich and old,
Have battened on the slaughter,
Whose faces, gorged with blood and gold,
Are creased in purple laughter.

And there are many books that stress this last point of Sitwell's —a point that is coming more and more to the attention of the thoughtful public—the fact that modern war benefits, not suffering humanity, in the name of which it is usually waged, but the munition maker, the capitalist, the politician whose greed is often the conscious cause of the very conflict, the very slaughter on which they batten. An effective, though not great, play in this theme was *Spread Eagle,* by George Brooks and Walter B. Lister, in which the son of a former beloved president of the United States was sent by a mining company to Mexico and placed in a position in which he was almost sure to be killed by the revolutionists. The report of his death kindled popular feeling to white heat; war was declared on Mexico; the mining officials served the government in Washington for a dollar a year and made millions of dollars as a result of the revolution they had financed and the war they had started.

There are numerous books that show up the stupidity of war, the futility, the fumblings and the needless waste of men and money on the part of those in command, its inadequacy and injustice. Tomlinson's *All Our Yesterdays* is a book of this kind. But not only the older men saw these truths about war: Charles Hamilton Sorley, the young British poet who was killed in action in 1915,

before he was twenty-one, wrote in a letter: "There is no such thing as a just war; what we are doing is casting out Satan by Satan."

Sorley's death, if we can judge by what he had already written, was a great loss to English poetry. The war destroyed, as war always will, some of the finest men from all the nations engaged—the finest physically and the finest mentally. The number of creative writers who died from 1914 to 1918 is appalling; and in many of those who survived, something fine was killed. War has produced some great literature, but that fact scarcely compensates for the possibilities which it has destroyed.

Edna St. Vincent Millay's poetic allegorical drama, *Aria da Capo,* shows two shepherds who, in play, erect a wall between them to keep each other off. Under the influence of greed and selfishness, each trying to keep what he finds on his own side of the wall and get what his friend has, one water, the other jewels, the old affection turns to hate. One strangles the other with a chain of jewels and receives in turn a bowl of poisoned water. Says one of them, dying, "This is a very silly game ... Why do we play it?" Indeed, hundreds of creative writers, some good, some poor, but all of sufficient ability to get themselves into print, have been asking this question in nearly all the languages of the western world and in some of the orient as well.* As Mottram said, "When the next civilization digs us up, not only Barbusse and Montagu, but Thomson and myself, they won't mistake what we thought about it." In Miss Millay's play, after the two shepherds have killed each other, Pierrot and Columbine place a table over their bodies, and the Spirit of Tragedy says:

> Pull down the tablecloth
> On the other side, and hide them from the house,
> And play the farce. The audience will forget.

These hundreds of writers on war and peace have dedicated their talents in the hope that neither the actors in the war nor the audience may forget. Wilfred Owen, in *Dulce et Decorum Est,* speaks to the audience:

> Bent double, like old beggars under sacks,
> Knock-kneed, coughing like hags, we cursed through sludge

*For lists including material as late as 1931, see Elizabeth Nitchie and others *Pen for Ploughshares, a Bibliography of Creative Literature that Encourages World Peace,* Boston, Faxon, 1930, and Evelyn Newman, *The International Note in Contemporary Drama,* N. Y., Kingland Press, (c1931). Many titles might be added to bring these lists up to date.

Till on the haunting flares we turned our backs,
And toward our distant rest began to trudge.
Men marched asleep. Many had lost their boots,
But limped on, blood-shod. All went lame, all blind;
Drunk with fatigue; deaf even to the hoots
Of gas-shells dropping softly behind.
Gas! Gas! Quick, boys!—An ecstasy of fumbling,
Fitting the clumsy helmets just in time,
But someone still was yelling out and stumbling
And floundering round like a man in fire or lime.
Dim through the misty panes and thick green light,
As under a green sea, I saw him drowning.
In all my dreams before my helpless sight
He plunges at me, guttering, choking, drowning.
If in some smothering dreams, you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes wilting in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin,
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs
Bitten as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues,—
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old lie: Dulce et decorum est
Pro patria mori.

No, there is no sweetness, no dignity, no decorum, no fittingness in death in modern battle, even though it be for fatherland. Owen speaks thus to the audience; it is to the actors that Siegfried Sassoon speaks in *Aftermath*:

Have you forgotten yet? . . .
For the world's events have rumbled on since those gagged
days,
Like traffic checked for a while at the crossing of city ways:
And the haunted gap in your mind has filled with thoughts
that flow

Like clouds in the lit heavens of life; and you're a man reprieved to go,
Taking your peaceful share of Time, with joy to spare.
But the past is just the same,—and War's a bloody game. . . .
Have you forgotten yet? . . .
Look down, and swear by the slain of the War that you'll never forget.
Do you remember the dark months you held the sector at Mametz,—
The nights you watched and wired and dug and piled sandbags on parapets?
Do you remember the rats; and the stench
Of corpses rotting in front of the front-line trench,—
And dawn coming, dirty-white, and chill with a hopeless rain?
Do you ever stop and ask, "Is it all going to happen again?"
Do you remember that hour of din before the attack,—
And the anger, the blind compassion that seized and shook you then
As you peered at the doomed and haggard faces of your men?
Do you remember the stretcher-cases lurching back
With dying eyes and lolling heads, those ashen-grey
Masks of the lads who once were keen and kind and gay?
Have you forgotten yet? . . .
Look up, and swear by the green of the Spring that you'll never forget.

THE WAY OUT*

III.

The Economic Consequences of the Peace, by John Maynard Keynes. Harcourt, Brace and Howe. International Anarchy, by G. Lowes Dickinson. Century Co. National Defense, by Kirby Page. Farrar & Rinehart. Our Country and World Peace, by Arthur Deerin Call. The Estes Park Conference of Young Men's Christian Associations. Denver, Colorado.

AMONG the statesmen and experts who met at Paris to formulate a Peace treaty officially ending the European War, there was one man—Keynes—who saw clearly just what would happen to bring disaster upon victor and vanquished alike as the result of the economic and financial measures adopted in the Treaty of Versailles. His point of view and his argument has, since his book appeared in 1920, become part of our general consciousness; and the steady retreat from victory to the terrible social breakdown of 1929 has given Keynes's logical prediction the seal of fulfilled truth. "Very few of us realize with conviction the intensely unusual, unstable, complicated, unreliable, temporary nature of the economic organization by which Western Europe has lived for the last half century . . . On this sandy and false foundation we scheme for social improvement and dress our political platforms, pursue our animosities and particular ambitions, and feel ourselves with enough margin in hand to foster, not assuage, civil conflict in the European family. Moved by insane delusion and reckless self-regard, the German people overturned the foundations on which we all lived and built. But the spokesmen of the French and British peoples have run the risk of completing the ruin, which Germany began, by a Peace which, if it is carried into effect, must impair yet further, when it might have restored, the

*A summary of the various principles of world development advanced in the books listed in the replies received by *World Unity Questionnaire on Peace* to the question: "What book written since 1918 most clearly shows the way out from the prevalent international problems?"

delicate, complicated organization, already shaken and broken by war, through which alone the European peoples can employ themselves and live. . . . All classes alike thus build their plans, the rich to spend more and save less, the poor to spend more and work less. . . . If the European Civil War is to end with France and Italy abusing their momentary victorious power to destroy Germany and Austria-Hungary now prostrate, they invite their own destruction also, being so deeply and inextricably intertwined with their victims by hidden psychic and economic bonds . . . This book has been written by one who . . . cannot disinterest himself from the further unfoldment of the great historic drama of these days which will destroy great institutions, but may also create a new world." This approach is developed and applied in chapters analyzing the economy of Europe before the War, revealing how the Allied statesmen chose between a peace capable of reorganizing Europe and one which could but ruin it, dealing concretely with the economic and financial terms of the Treaty, reducing the possibility of Reparations to that figure which the statesmen themselves adopted years later—too late; in a chapter sketching the post-war Europe, and a concluding chapter proposing remedies for the peace which continued the War and intensified it by transferring it to every business and every owner, every investor, every worker. His remedies were: Revision of the Treaty; settlement of inter-Ally indebtedness; an international loan and reform of the currency; and the establishment of sound relations with the then existing Russia.

The chasm between this intelligent grasp of social reality and the betrayal of human hopes actually written into the Treaty is a fair measure of the fatal duality which, separating life artificially between personal morality and public policy, still tries to outride the storm.

The late G. Lowes Dickinson was a highly developed personality living in an undeveloped social community—the superior man who always appears when his society has reached the end of its historic possibility. Thrust upward and outward from a community centered upon limited aims, the superior man becomes the spokesman for universal aims having no present substance but supported by a

power of truth pointing to a future condition. "I believe, with most instructed people, that modern war, with all the resources of science at its disposal, has become incompatible with the continuance of civilization . . . My thesis is, that whenever and wherever the anarchy of armed states exists, war does become inevitable. That was the condition in ancient Greece, in republican Rome, in medieval Italy, and in Europe for several centuries after its emergence from the feudal chaos. That chaos also invited war. But such war is not properly to be called either civil or international; and with that particular condition we are not concerned. International war, in our own age as in the others referred to, is a clash between sovereign armed States. It arises in consequence of the international anarchy . . . If we look back over the course of history we find war to be a normal part of its process; and historians are so hypnotized by that fact that they commonly consider, not the fundamental conditions which make war inevitable, but the superficial occasions out of which this or that war happened to arise. These occasions, of course, vary infinitely in detail; but underneath them all lies a general situation which makes it certain that war will come . . . It results from the juxtaposition of a number of States, independent and armed."

Space is not available for following this thesis in its application to definite historic events up to the War of 1914-1918. The reader is urged to read the entire book. "That the way to salvation is the development of the League of Nations into a true international organ to control in the interests of peace the policies of all States will be generally admitted by those who have any constructive ideas . . . All States must enter the League. The legal openings left for war must be closed, as was provided by the Protocol. There must be, by consequence, a complete apparatus for the peaceful settlement of all disputes. There must be a genuine application, by States with discontented minorities, of the rules laid down by the League. There must be arrangements for an equitable distribution of important raw materials, and the abandonment of protective policies. And, above all, there must be general all-round disarmament." This was published in 1926, and the way out from inter-

national anarchy has become infinitely more difficult since that date.

"Our peril," wrote Kirby Page in 1931, "emerges out of a system of nationalism, militarism, and imperialism and from a heritage of enmity, exploitation and injustice. Fixed ideas about national rights and national honor lead to disaster if maintained in periods of crisis when fears are aroused and passions unleashed. To rely upon armies and navies for safety when confronted by such a combination of dangers is only to invite catastrophe". . . ."The price we must pay for national security includes the following program: (1) build up the agencies of peace, (2) strengthen the will to peace, (3) transform the doctrines of nationalism, (4) abandon imperialistic coercion, (5) remedy international injustice, (6) tear down the war system. The crisis of 1914 might have been passed without war if appropriate machinery for pacific settlement had been available." The book was directed toward the necessary education of Americans away from the historical tradition of the European system, and has been an effective influence for the attainment of that vital aim. His "Twenty-Two Point Program for Patriots" summarized much of the thought of the last decade.

Arthur Deerin Call, Executive Secretary of the American Peace Society, wrote in 1926: "Now is the time to rescue the peace movement. The author believes that this may best be done if we of this country relate it to the traditions and precepts upon which our country is built." His book represents a number of studies intended to "help some skeptics to a livelier appreciation of the peace aspirations at the heart of our America." The result is a work which traces the history of the peace ideal in the United States, including the various principles and programs adopted and advocated from time to time by organized Peace Societies, against the background of that traditional American conscience which recognizes that peace is a fundamental moral obligation and not a mere by-product of national policy. Call's book therefore carries along with it a great momentum in his response to the history of his own people. He believes profoundly in international law and in the functioning of world bodies capable of assuring justice.

H. H.

NOTES ON THE CURRENT ISSUE

WHEN we consider the growing importance of Latin America in world affairs, it seems almost incredible that we of the United States, whose future is so closely bound up with that of other American nations, should know as little as we do concerning them and their relations with us.

In order to make some contribution toward a better understanding of this extremely important phase of international affairs, WORLD UNITY, beginning with this issue, is publishing a series of articles by Philip Leonard Green, well known Inter-Americanist of the new age.

The writer of these articles has lived in Latin American countries almost four years and has devoted many more years to methodical research in this field. He has striven for the betterment of relations between the people of the United States and those of Latin America since youth when he was United States Delegate and International President of the Pan American Student League. Since then, he has become an authority on Latin American affairs and inter-American relations. He is at present giving a series of lectures on "Elements of Latin American Civilization" at the Inter-American Institute, Roerich Museum, New York City.

This series, opening up a new sphere of interest for WORLD UNITY readers, is inaugurated in an issue which the editor regards as unusually valuable and important. The articles by Elsa P. Kimball, Elizabeth Nitchie and Oliver Earl Benson are substantial contributions to the new world outlook.

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